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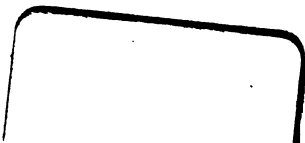
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12 Oct. 1888.



QUESTIONS OF THE DAY. No. LII.

~~VI 4871~~
TARIFF CHATS.

BY

HENRY J. PHILPOTT

“When, therefore, thou doest thine alms sound not a trumpet before thee.”—MATT. vi., 2.

NEW YORK & LONDON
G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
The Knickerbocker Press
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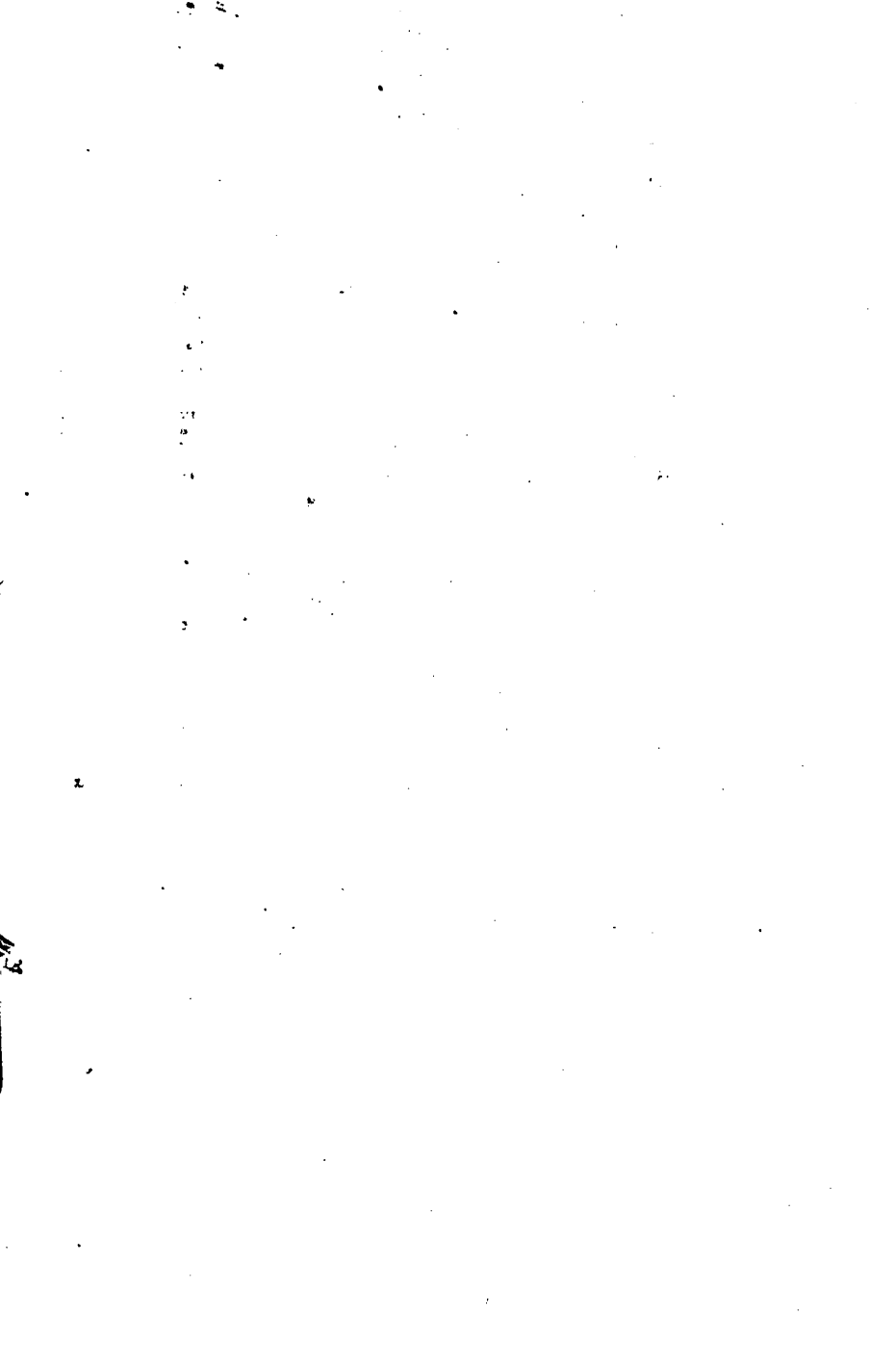
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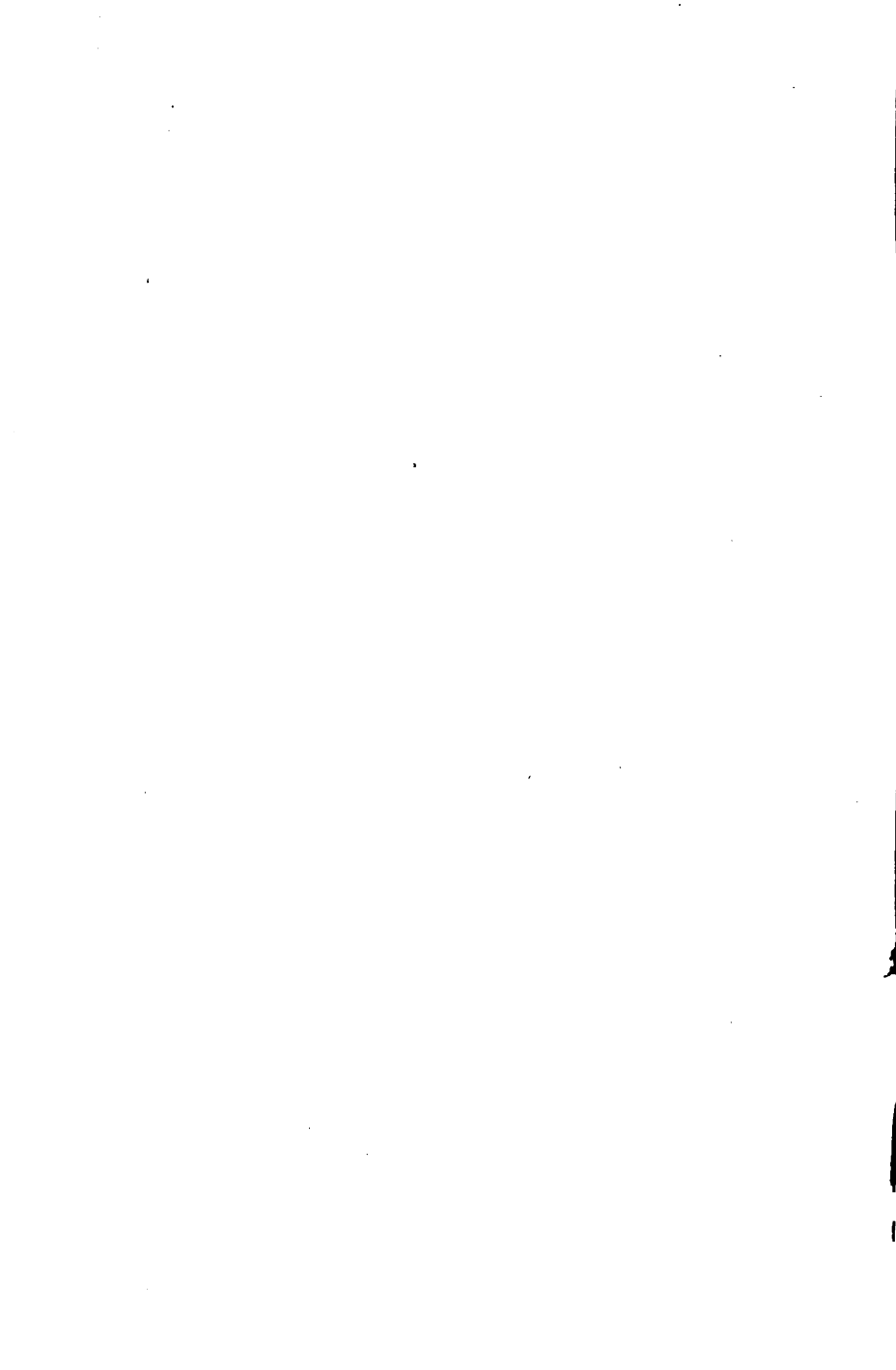
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1888

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BY THE AUTHOR.

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 HENRY J. PHILPOTT
 Feb., 1888

TARIFF CHATS.

THE MYSTERY.

How strange it is that any American citizen should say, when asked his views on the tariff question, "I don't understand it." The tariff is a part of his taxes. It is the largest part of the tax he pays to the general government. If he is an average citizen, with an average family, this tax alone cost him \$18 last year, and costs him a little more or less than that every year, in support of the government alone, aside from any revenue to any private interest. Yet he confesses that he knows nothing about this \$18, of his own money, which he pays over to Uncle Sam. He does not know whether it is more or less than he ought to pay. He never asks whether the tax is so levied that he is paying more than \$18—may be \$50 or \$100—while some other and richer tax-payer gets off at \$5 or \$10. Would he spend money so blindly in any other way? When you ask him about the money he pays to Uncle Sam, he says he "does not understand it." If you asked him about the money he bestows on his wife and children, would he look blank at you and confess, "I don't understand it"? What would you think of him if he did? How long would you expect to see him out of the sheriff's hands?

Now, all his taxes are a part of his expenses. Why

should he not understand all about them? Is it worth \$18 a year to let his mind rest from so easy a task as finding out where the money goes and how it goes, and whether the manner of its going is not such as to take several times \$18 along with it? If he were spending \$18 in any other way, he would at least look far enough into the matter to see whether some shrewd swindler had not a scheme in it. That something of this kind is true of the tariff, I shall prove to you in a minute. But first, I want you to stroll with me down into the Valley of Humiliation, and blush awhile for having ever been compelled to confess, as I know you have, for so have we all, that we did n't understand the tariff question; that we have been paying out an utterly unknown sum of money every year, without knowing, or even inquiring (for if we had diligently inquired we should have known), how we paid it, or when we paid it, or whether any reform was needed, or whether we might not have got off by paying less, and had just as good a government or better.

Can any tax system which is an absolute mystery to the intelligent tax-payer be right? Is the man fit to be free who does not, or will not, or cannot, at the very first opportunity, investigate until he thoroughly understands how his government exercises its taxing power over him—the most important and dangerous of all its powers? But if you say: "Don't reproach me so; I have studied it, long and earnestly, and although I can understand any thing else that concerns me, I can't understand my taxes," my reply is: "Then your taxes are levied in a wrong way. You have already condemned them, so far as lies in your power. You have said of them about the worst thing you could say. Get you at once a tax system that you can understand. Do not rest until all your neighbors have joined you in the effort. Beware of mysteries, but above all of mysterious taxes. You may rest assured that those who impose mysteries on you do not, as a rule, do it for your good. If you were making change of money with a man, and he should throw a cloak

over you so you could n't see, you would suspect his motives in a moment, would n't you?"

A PARTIAL EXPLANATION.

But besides being mysterious, this tax, which costs you, an average man, \$18 a year, has another suspicious feature. I am sure you have observed it a number of times. It is that whenever you ask to have the \$18 cut down to \$17, some man a thousand miles away, or across the street, or somewhere, excitedly rises up, gets very red in the face, and cries at the top of his voice: "Don't! For God's sake, don't! It will bankrupt me, and starve my workingmen!" Now, don't you think that man betrays undue interest in your taxes being high? "Why," you say to him, "the government is getting too much money. I was willing to pay the \$18 when the government needed money, but really I don't like to go on paying the whole of it when only a part is needed. I don't want my money, which does n't come too easily, ricked up in the treasury, or sown by the way-side." "Well," says he, "but you must go on paying it anyhow. It will never do to stop."

Now, is there not something suspicious in the fact that some people get so excited when other people's taxes are going to be reduced? Is it not proof positive that there is a scheme behind your tax system, as I promised a minute ago to prove to you? Suppose the treasuries of your State, county, and township were overflowing with money. You have a receipt for the taxes you paid this year. It foots up \$18. Next year, you say to yourself, it will be less. The taxing powers will reduce the levy. Next year the tax receipt will foot up \$16. Suppose it does. How many of your neighbors will be rushing to the county court-house and demanding that the reduction be not made? What would you think of any one who should do so? How long would it take you to make up your mind that that man had

on foot a job of some kind, and expected to get hold of part of the money you paid in taxes?

Yet you have come to look upon it as perfectly natural that a lobby of rich men should swarm at Washington to resist every proposed reduction of taxes. You were not in the least surprised that when President Arthur or President Cleveland proposed that your \$18 tariff tax should be cut down to \$12, there should at once be held several meetings of rich men (\$140,000,000 was represented at one meeting) to protest against the reduction, and to put forth a piteous plea that if it was made they would have to go out of business.

Now, the present tariff is already twice condemned as a tax system. You have condemned it by confessing that with hard study you cannot understand it. These meetings of rich men have condemned it by saying that it is a kind of tax which cannot be reduced without ruining their business. Is it not about time such a system was reformed? Can you honestly, my protectionist friend, admire a tax which you cannot understand, and which cannot be reduced without the bitter opposition of special classes of the people, and an outcry that the whole country is going to be ruined?

Do you begin to guess what it is that the cloak of mystery covers?

FOLLY AT LEAST.

But let us put the best possible construction on the matter. Suppose there is no scheme of personal gain in this mysterious tax; suppose it be true that its reduction would hurt the whole country and derange all its industries; suppose that these men who resist every reduction of your taxes are animated by the most patriotic and unselfish motives; suppose there is no actual fraud in the transaction; is it not at least folly to tax the people in such manner that any reduction of their taxes will ruin them? If this high tax accomplishes any good, would it not be better to accomplish

that good in some other way? These men say it helps them in their business. Before we stop to inquire how it helps them, let us ask ourselves whether it would not be better to help them directly. Then we could reduce our taxes when we found them excessive. We would not be obliged to keep on gorging the treasury with money for corrupt politicians to spend.

I think we shall find on examination that it would be far cheaper, as well as safer and more honest, to pension these people who can't stand tax reduction. They must in some way be pensioners, or tax reduction would not hurt them. If it is necessary to the welfare of the country that they be pensioned, would you not prefer to have it done by an honest, open, direct method, rather than by means of a mysterious tax system which you cannot understand, and dare not reduce, no matter how much public corruption is wrought by the surplus it yields? When you are taxed to help build a railroad, you know how much you are paying. In the State where I live you get, besides a receipt showing how much, a certificate of stock in the enterprise to exactly that amount. Have you, anywhere about your clothes, any stock in any of these mines or factories whose owners say they would never have been at work if your taxes had not been as high as they are, and would be at once deserted if your taxes should be reduced?

Anyhow, whatever your own personal interest in the matter may be, does it look like wise statesmanship to found the business of a country on its taxes? Does it not remind you of the man in the parable who built his house on the sand? Would it not be better, rather than have the foundation so shaky, not to have the business quite so large? And yet, before we get through, I think we shall agree that it would be larger and more profitable to all concerned if it rested on the solid foundation which I propose.

It seems to me that we have already got this mysterious tax system condemned as either a folly or a fraud, without

being obliged to make the slightest inquiry into its nature. Thus far, it seems to me, we ought to agree, whether you can understand the tariff itself or not. Surely this much of it anybody can understand. In the first place it is a mystery, and that is a thing that no tax ought to be. Secondly, its advocates claim that it cannot be reduced without ruining some and injuring all, and certainly that is not a good feature. Especially when the point is reached that men shut up their mills before the reduction is made, and just because the tax-payers begin to ask to have their taxes reduced. For as long as the tax-payers are men worthy of the name, they will be making just that demand every time there is a surplus in the treasury. Hence this mysterious tax system must either keep business in an unsettled condition or destroy the manhood of the tax-payer.

WHAT IS A TARIFF TAX?

We might, in fact, go on and make a thousand conclusive arguments against the present tax system, without stopping to ask what kind of tax it is, and how it differs from other taxes. But it is a habit of the human mind, for which I have the greatest respect, to like to have a clear conception of the thing it is reasoning about. What in the world is this average \$18 tax which nobody understands? Who are these men who either pray or swear every time a cut is hinted at? And whence these tears and oaths? Perhaps it is not quite so deep a mystery as they would like to have us believe. Suppose we play the detective, and probe it.

A tariff tax is a tax on foreign goods. No civilized country produces all the things its own people use. Some savage tribes live entirely on their own products, and every thing that is produced is consumed by the "home market." But the moment they become civilized, or even start fairly on the road to civilization, they begin to use things that other tribes or nations produce. They pay for them with the things they themselves produce, and thus commerce

arises. How this has benefited and civilized humanity has often been pointed out.

The quantity of foreign goods used in this country is quite surprising to people who have n't thought much about the matter. All our tea, coffee, pepper, and spices are foreign, and most of our sugar. We should not like to do without these. A large part of our clothing is foreign, and so are a great many other things that we use in every-day life. Altogether, we used in 1887 so many of these foreign things that their total cost, in the countries from which we bought them, was \$683,000,000. They are not all taxed, but \$450,000,000 worth were taxed when they entered our ports, and the total tax amounted to \$214,000,000; so that, counting the tax and all, our people paid last year \$897,000,000 for the foreign goods they used. This does not include the cost of bringing them to America and distributing them to the store-keepers, nor the profits and commissions. What these amount to, no man can exactly estimate. Is it extravagant to guess that, adding them all together, the freight from all the far-off foreign countries, the ocean insurance, the profits of the importer, wholesaler, and retailer, and the railroad freights, they amount to fifty per cent. of the value of the goods in the countries of production? That is my guess. Make yours lower, and then figure on your own plan. I heartily wish I was sure that my guess was not too low. Yours cannot be enough lower to make any difference in the argument. Accept mine, and we have a total sum paid by you and me and our fellow-countrymen, for foreign goods, of \$1,440,000,000 in a single year. Dividing this up among the families in the country, we find that each average family used last year \$120 worth of foreign goods.

I think you will agree with me that the American people have a strong inclination to use foreign goods, or they would not pay so many millions of dollars for them. Is this because they are not patriotic? Or is it because they like to buy where they can buy cheapest? And why is it that they

should be hindered from using all the foreign goods they want? Why are two thirds of these foreign goods heavily taxed, while the other one third is allowed to come in free of duty? If part are taxed, why not all? What can be the matter with our people that in spite of the tax they use twice as much of the taxed as of the untaxed foreign articles, and pay for them, including the tax, three times as much? Are the whole American people crazy, or are some of them selfish and mistaken? All buy these foreign goods—protectionists, free-traders, tariff reformers,—and all alike. Who is it that is gifted by heaven with such wisdom as to dictate to 60,000,000 of people what foreign goods they should buy, and what not?

Well, some American concludes that if he could get a price and a half or two prices for the same kind of goods that are imported, he could make them, and make some money at it; or he is already at it, and making money in spite of free foreign competition, but very naturally he would like to make a little more money. In either case, he goes and sees a sufficient number of other men interested in the same way, and they meet and appoint a committee to go and tell Congress how much tax they want put on that particular foreign article. If they want to get 50 per cent. more for their own make of goods than they have been getting, they have a 50 per cent. tax put on the competing foreign article.

“Oh, surely,” you say, “no foreign article is taxed as high as 50 per cent.” Yes, indeed. Some of the taxes are as high as 150 per cent., and all averaged 47 in the year 1887.

“But surely, these interested parties do not presume to dictate what my taxes shall be?” Oh, yes, they do. Only the other day a convention of rich wool-growers owning flocks in New Mexico, which they pasture on land that belongs to you and me as truly as it belongs to them, and rich woollen manufacturers who have been, by means of this tariff, supported at the public expense, partly at your expense

and mine, for twenty-five years, met in Washington and prepared a detailed schedule of the taxes they wanted Congress to make you and me pay on our children's clothes for the next—God knows how long. And with an annual surplus of well on to \$100,000,000 in the treasury, and everybody clamoring about it, these rich people, speaking in their own interest, asked that the taxes which they say helped them should be increased.

The owners of half the iron mines in the country, representing, as they boasted, \$140,000,000, held a meeting at Cleveland in January, 1888, and informed your representatives in Congress what tax should be put on foreign iron. Every few days the representatives of one of those interests that are now organized into the "trusts" you hear so much about hold a meeting and decide what taxes you shall pay on the foreign goods that compete with theirs.

Now it is just in this way that our whole present tariff system has been arranged. In 1867 there was a meeting of wool-growers and woollen-goods manufacturers, at which was drawn up a schedule of taxes on foreign wools and woollens. Congress meekly bowed to its dictates, and you and I have been paying just those rates of tax ever since, except that there was a slight reduction in 1883.

Is this the way to levy taxes? It is the only way to levy a protective tariff. It is called protective because it "protects" interested classes against foreign competition. If it is to be protective, it must be dictated by the rich men interested in the industries it protects. For the poor men in those industries cannot afford to go to Washington, and the people not interested do not know how high the tax must be to be protective. So, if we are going to have a truly protective tariff, we must let the lumber lords fix the tax on lumber, the New Mexico ranchmen the tax on wool, the rich factory owners the taxes on cloths, the mine owners the taxes on metals and coal, and so on around. And that is the way it has always been done. This is what is demanded

for the future, and the form of the demand is very simple, and extremely familiar. "The tariff must be revised by its friends," say all the protectionists in chorus. And who are its warmer friends than the trusts that have been formed under its protection?

I insist that if the protective system is to be maintained, this demand is perfectly proper and cannot safely be ignored. When a railroad company or a factory asks for a local subsidy it always states how much of a subsidy it wants and must have, and if the tax-payers cannot afford to give that much it goes elsewhere and seeks a more "liberal" community. Why should not the benefits of the tariff be bestowed on the same common-sense plan?

THE TARIFF TRUSTS.

The tariff trusts are right if the protective tariff is right. What greater folly can be imagined than to shut out foreign competition for the sole purpose of giving a group of capitalists control of the home market, and then to complain of them for conferring together and arranging to take the full benefit of your generosity? You "protect" them so that they can pay their hands high wages, you say. Will not the trust enable them to pay still higher wages than if they engaged in ruinous home competition? By all means let us have the trusts, or do away with that feature of the tariff which calls them into existence. We have always asked the organizers of these trusts how much tax we should pay, and when they told us we obeyed them, and now they have a right, if we still admit that there is any right anywhere in the system, to hold us to our bargain, and if necessary to combine their forces for that purpose.

Do not understand me to say that all trusts and monopolies are right. Some industries are protected by the act of God; as our oil industry, for instance, to which He who laid the foundations of the earth gave special advantages in the way of supply of raw material. His bounty is limited, and

now it is cornered, and this is wrong. But when the people themselves indicate so warm a regard for any industry that they elevate it into a public pet and shield it against the frosts of foreign competition, the captains and capitalists of that industry owe it to themselves and to the country to make it pay every cent it can.

Another reason for this distinction is that by its very nature a tariff-born trust has not, as a natural monopoly may have, an unlimited control of the market. It is an industry which is naturally subject to foreign competition, or nobody would ever have thought of "protecting" it. And it is still subject to foreign competition if it puts its prices up to the limit of the tariff. No matter how close a combination or how unscrupulous a trust may be formed, prices cannot be forced any higher than that, because the moment they were we should begin to import the foreign goods. This is the difference between a tariff monopoly and a natural monopoly. The tariff monopoly is a limited monopoly, the limit being fixed by legislation, and if those engaged in the business fall short of the limit, the purpose of the legislation is defeated.

The existence of these trusts it is not necessary now to prove. They are admitted by all protectionists, and by many of them chided as a disgrace to the cause they have from childhood been taught to love. There is a salt trust, a copper trust, a textile association, a steel trust, a lumber trust, and so on, for every protected industry of any importance. Most people suppose that this is a new development of the protective system, but in a pamphlet which I wrote seven years ago (*Free Trade vs. Protection*) I called attention to the same thing in this language: "Shutting out foreign competition of course gives American manufacturers a chance to put up their prices. They promised not to take advantage of this opportunity, but they have never kept this promise when they could help it, and they can always help it except when they are bankrupt. They have formed

combinations as every one knows, and in many cases gained absolute monopolies. Even the quarrying of marble for tombstones is controlled by a combination. Now and then a combination breaks to pieces temporarily, by the bankruptcy of so many of its members, during a crash like that of 1873, but it is soon formed again, and as soon as times revive things go on as before."

THE LITERARY BUREAU.

Nor do I object to the action of these tariff trusts in printing car-loads of tracts, pamphlets, and bulky books, and sending them out over the country, nor to the establishing of newspapers, for the purpose of teaching tax-payers to pay such taxes as the trusts want them to, and as will keep the trustees from going into bankruptcy or reducing the wages of their hands. This, too, is a perfectly natural and necessary part of any healthy protective system, if it be proper to speak of a healthy protective system. These men say the tariff is all that saves their business from ruin. Then I say the tariff is a part of their business, and it is as truly their business to take care of it in every legitimate way, as it is to take care of their engines and machinery, and to keep their buildings painted.

LET US LOOK AT THE BOOKS.

But I do think, and I do not see how you can help agreeing with me, if you are a business man, that every mine, mill, and factory whose owner says he could n't keep it going and pay the present wages if your taxes were reduced, ought to be compelled by law to make an annual or quarterly showing of his accounts. I think (don't you?) that we are entitled to know what use he makes of our money. He says he gives it all to his workingmen—that is, all that he gets for his products, over and above what he would get without the tariff. But when we ask him to prove it he merely rambles off into an incoherent argument, and makes

the general assertion that wages are higher in this country than in some others. This is true, but it was just as true before the Revolution as it is now. It has always been true since this country was settled. In fact, it used to be truer than it is now. The difference between American and foreign wages still exists, but it is growing smaller every year. It is now less, as I shall show by protectionist figures, between this country and England than it is between England and Germany. And by another table I shall show you that the difference is less between England and America than between the different States of America.

It is not a rambling argument that we want, and have a right to demand, from the man who confesses (without a blush) that it is our tax that keeps his mill going. It is a look at his books. If we had given him a subsidy outright, once for all, it would make less odds, for whether he succeeded or failed, or whatever he did with the money, it would be gone from us forever anyhow. But a perpetual subsidy is different. When the man to whom we gave a subsidy last year asks for another this year we have the same right to withhold it, until he makes an accounting, that we have to send a visiting committee to our orphan homes and lunatic asylums, and to call on them for a yearly accounting.

We have been granting this protection, which is either a subsidy or a ridiculous farce, to certain classes of people for twenty-five years, and not one of them has ever offered to prove to us by his books that the subsidy was wisely used, or used to the purpose for which it was bestowed. At the risk of impoliteness I think it about time we ventured to ask for this right, and if refused, to reduce the subsidy as much as we please, or shut it off entirely.

NOW TO THE ARGUMENT.

Nevertheless, let us examine the argument with which these industrial wards of ours put us off when we ask for an

accounting. If you have waded through very much of it I don't wonder that you are mystified and have to confess that the more you study the tariff question the less you understand it. After you get through the patriotic gush about the disgrace of Americans buying abroad what they can manufacture at home, the whole argument simmers down to these few propositions, which I want you to examine carefully and see whether you have n't often heard them, and whether they are consistent with one another:

1. Nobody who pays high wages can produce cheap goods. Hence a tariff is needed to protect American labor.

2. America pays the highest wages in the world. Hence it is proved that tariff does protect labor and makes wages high.

3. America also produces the cheapest manufactures—especially of the protected classes. Hence the tariff, instead of being a burden on the farmer, or other unprotected consumer, is a relief to him and reduces his living expenses.

Is there one among my readers who has not read or heard all three of the above arguments from the highest protectionist sources? Is there one, indeed, who has not read them all three from the same pen and heard them all three from the mouth? But is there one who cannot see that they are as irreconcilable as any three propositions could possibly be made? Let such a one stop here and ponder over the matter a day or two before he examines what is to be said in regard to each particular proposition. Let him also engage some protectionists in conversation and lead them out on these three questions, and see if they fail to make all these points.

Many a protectionist has been converted from the error of his ways just by fixing his mind for a while on this inconsistency. He could n't see how foreign pauper-made goods could drive American goods out of the market if the American goods are the cheapest; especially when the foreign goods have to cross three thousand miles of water before they reach the field of battle. He says to himself: "If the Americans can pay so much higher wages and still make the

cheapest goods, what need have they of protection? What has this cheapest of cheap-goods countries to fear from a flood of cheap goods? If the goods were admitted to be dearer here than abroad, we might have some argument with these men. But when they say that they sell us their goods cheaper than the foreigner does his to his home customers, certainly the debate is ended and judgment is confessed. For certainly the foreigner, debased as he is, can't be so foolish, no matter how wicked, as to pack his burden of goods a quarter of the way round the world and sell them cheaper than he does at home. Surely if every custom-house were turned into a soap factory we should n't import any of the goods that are cheaper in America than in foreign countries."

A BURDEN OR A HUMBUG.

If the tariff does make protected goods dearer in this country, then it is a burden, and we ought to see whether it costs more than it comes to. If not, then it is a humbug, and its immediate and total abolition, which few demand, could not close a single factory, reduce the wages of a single workingman, nor throw him out of a job. But here is one question which no protectionist has been able to answer. If these goods are cheaper in America than abroad, why do we import \$450,000,000 worth of them in a year, and pay \$214,000,000 tax on them? That is what we did in 1887, as shown by the government reports. Nearly sixty per cent. of the government's revenues are raised in that way. Now do you believe that there are in America a sufficient number of idiots who are willing to pay twice as much, or half as much again, for foreign as for American goods, to import \$450,000,000 worth of these goods and pay \$214,000,000 tax on them?

THE DUDE AND THE MILLIONAIRE.

In the United States Senate, on February 2, 1888, Senator Platt said:

There is a standing challenge in the office of a protection newspaper in the city of New York, with the samples ready to be shown to any free-trader, to show that clothing in this country is not as cheap as in England. The truth is that everybody, except the dude and the millionaire, can be clothed cheaper in this country than in England, and in woollen clothing too; and I apprehend that we are not very anxious to reduce the tariff duties for the purpose of benefiting the dude and the millionaire.

Now let us see about this. Do the dude and the millionaire use women's and children's woollen dress goods? Are these cheaper in America than in England? Then how happens it that in 1886 we imported over 60,000,000 square yards of them, paying \$15,000,000 for the goods and \$11,000,000 tariff on them? This is an average of two yards for every woman and girl in the country. It would make a whole dress apiece for half the American women.

And these are the goods that are actually imported, and on which the tax is actually paid. Do you think we would import enough of this one single class of goods to give half the women in the country a spick and span new woollen dress every year if they were cheaper here than in the countries from which they were imported? Don't you think the trustees of the tariff trusts are trying to impose on your credulity a little?

But these are fine goods, you say, such as your wife cannot afford to dress in. Mistake. I have given you a little less than the number of yards, and a little more than the total foreign cost, as shown on page 677 of the regular government Report on Commerce and Navigation for 1886. Divide the total cost by the whole number of yards and you will find that these goods cost the importer not over 25 cents a yard on an average, before he paid the freight and the duty.

Is 25 cents a yard more than your wife can afford for a dress, once a year? But now divide the number of yards into the total duties paid, and you will see that the tax comes to nearly 20 cents a yard. So, counting in the

freight, these dress goods, which were actually bought in Europe for less than 25 cents, will cost you wholesale at New York at least 45 cents. Now don't you suppose the American manufacturer sells *his* goods of like quality at 45 cents too?

But 25 cents is not the price of all these goods. It is the average price. The official report I am quoting divides them into classes, and I want to tell you that 50,000,000 yards of the goods were cheaper still than that, and that 25,000,000 yards averaged only a shade over 15 cents a yard, importing price. The tax was over 10 cents a yard, and this brought the wholesale price in New York, duty paid, up to 25 cents and over, on the average. But this includes some which you could buy at retail at less than 25 cents. Is that the kind of stuff that dudes wear? And millionaires? It is the goods that every woman, except the extremely poor and the rich, wears every year—every day if she can afford it, but at any rate every time she wants something on besides her calico, and does not want, or cannot afford, to wear something still finer.

CALICO.

Speaking of calico, Senator Platt, on behalf of his clients who say (without blushing) that they can't run their business if your taxes and mine are reduced, made another remark which affords me a long looked for and confidently expected opportunity. We have all heard of the backwoods free-trader who interrupted a protectionist speaker and asked him about the tax on shirtings. "The tax is 7 cents a yard," said the speaker. "Now what did your shirt cost you?" "Five cents a yard," was the reply, and of course the free-trader was crushed.

I heard that story when I was a boy, but there never was any chance to run it down and corner the man who started it. I have been waiting ever since for some responsible person to make a similar argument in a tangible shape. Here

he is at last. In the same speech which I have already quoted, Senator Platt says :

The protectionist insists that whenever a duty is laid which protects the American manufacturer, competition among home producers always has and always will bring down the price of the domestic article, "approximately, at least," to use the President's language, to the price of the foreign article on which duty is laid, less the duty. The President ought to have known this, as it seems to me. Did he or his "better half" ever buy calico? If he did he must know that while the tax, as he calls it, the duty, as the protectionist calls it, is 6 cents per square yard on calico, he can buy the American article for less than that at retail stores here in the city of Washington.

Now, here we have something definite, to which we can make replication. A senator put forward to speak for the people who can see no taint of pauperism in depending on a particular tax system for their subsistence, says that the duty on calico is 6 cents a square yard, and that calico can be bought at retail for less than that in Washington. What have we to say to that?

There is an old conundrum which runs like this: "Good-morning, Mary," said her teacher, "where are you going with your brother Johnny?" "Mistaken," said Johnny. "She is my sister, but I am not her brother." The question is, what was Johnny? And the answer is, that Johnny was a liar. This seems to be an unimpeachable answer, but it is not. The boy or man who tells one falsehood is not necessarily a liar, any more truly than one swallow makes a summer.

It is not true that the duty on calico is 6 cents a square yard, and it is not true that you can buy it at retail for 6 cents a square yard. The tariff on this class of goods is purposely made as complicated as possible, so that as few people as possible shall be able to "understand the tariff." On goods having less than 100 threads to the square inch, counting warp and filling, which would certainly include any 6-cent calico, the duty is $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents a square yard. But

you can't get 50 x 50 calico for 6 cents a square yard. You may get it for 6 cents a running yard, but such calico is only 22 inches wide. Hence you pay more than 9 cents a square yard; and while you might not get it $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents cheaper in England, you would certainly get it some cheaper.

Of the colored cotton goods that pay 6 cents a square yard, we actually imported in 1886 two and a half million yards, and paid $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents for the cloth and 6 cents, of course, for the tax. That made these goods cost us wholesale $18\frac{1}{2}$ cents, and at retail perhaps 25. These are the nice lawns and the like which our wives and daughters like to wear. They are not calicoes at all. To speak of them as such is to perpetrate, whether intentionally or unintentionally, a falsehood. To prove this, cut out a square inch of the best calico you can get, not bias, pick it to pieces, and count all the threads both ways. See if there are 200 of them. I have tried it.

The tax on the running yard of actual calico, of the common grade and width, is not 6 cents, but $2\frac{3}{4}$ cents. A gentleman who has sold scores of thousands of yards of calico at retail in both countries, and is now in the business, tells me that, quality and width considered, there is at least $1\frac{1}{2}$ if not 2 cents' difference in the price between this country and England. This is one of the cases where the manufacturer is not able to realize the whole amount of the protection apparently afforded by the duty. In such cases very little if any of the goods are imported.

IRON AND STEEL.

When it comes to iron and steel, we have no trouble whatever in convicting the tariff trustees of a lapse from veracity when they tell us they sell us their wares as cheap as the Englishman sells his. I will take their own leading organ, the *Iron Age*, and show its quotations for February 2, 1888.

I choose that date because it is late, and because the American iron market was then at the lowest notch it had reached in many months, and all the manufacturers were complaining that ruin stared them in the face.

If at such a time we find iron and steel higher in America than in Europe, we may rest assured it is at all other times. Well, here is the English market, "special cable to the *Iron Age*." I quote the cheapest and highest-priced qualities :

Pig-iron, Eglinton, No. 1, free on board at Ardrossan.....	43 shillings.
Pig-iron, Summerlee, No. 1, free on board at Glasgow.....	50s. 6d.
Steel rails, free on board, Liverpool.....	£4 2s. 6d.
Bar iron, cheapest.....	£5.
Bar iron, best.....	£7 12s.

I give the quotations in English money, so that you can see whether I make a mistake in reducing it to American money. A pound (£) is \$4.84. A shilling (s.) is 24½ cents. A penny (d.) is 2 cents. This is something you ought to remember, whether you ever study the tariff question or not. And remember, too, that an English ton is 2,240 pounds, while, as you know, an American ton is only 2,000 pounds. So after you have ciphered out the price of English iron, take off 10¾ per cent. to reduce it to American weights. You see every thing tends to deceive, as a necessary part of this mysterious tax system, which loves darkness rather than light because its deeds are evil. But a little patient figuring, which you need not do if you are willing to rely on my calculations, will uncover the darkness and show you that the above quotations mean the following, in American tons of 2,000 pounds, and American dollars and cents :

Eglinton pig-iron, No. 1.....	\$ 9.40
Summerlee pig-iron, No. 1.....	10.93
Steel rails.....	17.82
Cheapest bar iron.....	21.60
Best bar iron.....	31.55

These prices are higher than were quoted in the same paper in October, while American prices had in the mean-

time, as I have said, declined. Now here are the quotations for the same day in Philadelphia, from the same protectionist trade paper :

Pig-iron, No. 1, foundry (scarce).....	\$21.00 @ 21.50
Pig-iron, gray forge	17.50 @ 18.00
Steel rails.....	32.00 @ 33.00
Bar iron (1.9c. to 2.0c. per lb.) per ton.....	38.00 @ 40.00

And the same paper quotes steamer freights at \$1.60, American money, from Glasgow to New York, and \$1.81 from Liverpool to New York. Add this to the prices of English iron and steel, and you still have left the following differences between English and American prices: Pig-iron \$6.50 to \$9; steel rails \$12 to \$14; bar iron \$7 to \$15. And how do these differences compare with the duties levied on the articles? The duty on pig-iron is \$6.72, steel rails \$17, and bar iron \$16 per gross ton of 2,240 pounds. So on this date that I have selected the duty was not quite all added to the price, but the biggest part of it was, even at that time, in the dead of winter, when the American market was said to be perfectly flat and prices in England had been rising. In the preceding summer it was all piled on, freight, tariff, and all, and so we imported a great deal of foreign iron.

FACTS AND THEORIES.

Now, I have gone into this patient, I hope not tedious, examination of comparative prices for this reason: I know that in debating this question you will be told that it is a mere free-trade theory, and a false one at that, to suppose that tariffs raise prices, or that the protected articles are dearer in America than abroad. I want it understood, once for all, that we know what we are talking about, and that our assertions are based on actual quotations as well as on the general principle, which, it seems to me, common-sense ought to teach any man, that the protected manufacturer who complains of foreign competition in spite of the tariff, must

be putting the whole tariff on to the price of his goods. That complaint has recently been made by the woollen manufacturers, the iron manufacturers, the cotton manufacturers, the glass manufacturers, and quite a number of other manufacturers. They all want the tariff raised. That shows that they are taxing us as much on the threatened classes of their goods as the government is taxing us on what we import. They may deny it all they please, but actions speak louder than words. I do not mean to say that the duty is *always* added to the price, and in fact I have proved that it is not. But in many cases it is, and I have no hesitation in saying that this tax system, by which the government realizes \$18 from each average family, costs that family at least \$90 a year. It costs the whole American people not less than \$1,000,000,000,000 a year, and I think much more, to have their taxes dictated by the trustees of half a hundred trusts.

COUNT THE COST.

You may think this an exaggeration. But reflect that this tax, which we have empowered the tariff trustees to levy on us, along with the government, is laid on every thing you wear and many things that you eat, as well as on all the dishes and the table-cloth; it is on the pane of glass that lets God's sweet sunlight shine on your baby; it is on the baby's flannels, on the wood in its crib or cradle; it is on the lumber in the house that shelters you; it is on the tools with which you earn your bread, and on the materials to which your diligent hands apply them; it is on the wheels and rails that carry your goods to market; it is on your beds and bedding; it is on your books, Bible, and all; and if you die before the law is changed, it will be on your grave-clothes, your coffin, and your tombstone. Yes, even the plain, white marble slab that marks the spot where your tax-ridden remains await the resurrection must pay a tariff tribute to one of the closest and most soulless tariff trusts in the country. From the cradle to the coffin, from the baby linen and

baby flannel to the linen (cotton or woollen) grave-clothes, from the family Bible where the birth is recorded to the heavenward-pointing tablet whereon both death and birth are carven, the tariff trustee follows you and taxes you, and you let him; and when asked why, you reply that you don't understand these deep questions. "What fools we mortals be!" Do you suppose he wants us to understand it? Don't you suppose he smiles with satisfaction when he sees your gullibility? I have attended some of his conventions and heard him laugh at you. I have heard the hoarse, beefy chuckle of selfish and self-satisfied monopoly, and I do confess that it has made me somewhat bitter. It may be that the protected capitalists whom I have met in such conventions are not good specimens of the genus. I sincerely hope they are not. I should like to think that, like Brutus, "they are all honorable men." I have no relish for the *argumentum ad hominem*.

You see, I feel a sort of proprietary interest in these gentlemen. Perhaps it is n't right, but an almsgiver can't help feeling that way toward the person to whom he gives daily alms. Every year since I was eleven years old I have had to support myself and contribute rather a burdensome sum to the support of some people a great many miles away, who never found time or opportunity to return the compliment. I never got the slightest benefit from the tariff, or any other government favoritism. At the same time I never wore any clothes that were not increased in price by this policy of making an almshouse of every possible factory. I used to rise on Sunday morning from my humble cot in a log farmhouse, throwing off the bed-clothes taxed 40 to 100 per cent. and donning my clothing taxed 35 to 100 per cent., eat my taxed breakfast from dishes taxed 45 per cent. on a table-cloth taxed 40 per cent., and when the Sabbath bell, taxed 35 per cent., sounded its inviting notes, I took my Bible, taxed 25 per cent., and went to the church built of lumber taxed 20 per cent., and there, in a Sunday-school

song-book taxed 25 per cent. (and all these taxes paid to the objects of my charity, not to the government), I read :

“ Far out upon the prairie
How many children dwell,
Who never read the Bible,
Nor hear the Sabbath bell.”

The book was made in the country where my neighbors' mortgages and railroads are now owned, and where lived the people whom I was helping to support, out of the earnings of a twelve-year-old boy. And yet I am patient with these lambs, whom the government, and not the good Lord, has commanded me to feed. Indeed I was rather amused than angered the other day when the governor of my native State asked me what influences, especially if they were college influences, made me a free-trader. As if a man had to be seduced into asking the people who had lived on his hard toil for twenty-six years to ease up and try to go it alone for a while.

Sometimes I do almost get out of patience with my protegés when they employ men, who know better, to say that I am an Englishman, hired by the Cobden Club to circulate free-trade literature, and when they retail other provoking no-such-things about me. Would n't you think such raileries a little hard, coming from the objects of your life-long charity ?

“ Blow, blow, thou winter wind,
Thou are not so unkind
As man's ingratitude.”

Still I will keep my temper, and let others frame the counts in the indictment and pronounce the words of denunciation.

I will call the witness Senator Platt again to the stand. In the same speech from which I have quoted he speaks of the proposition to put raw materials on the free list, and of

the conflict of interest between the producers of these raw materials and the manufacturers who use them. He says:

Sir, the manufacturer that seeks to obtain raw materials free and demands a tariff upon his product is a selfish man, and selfish almost to the point of criminality.

Now that is as severe as any thing I should want to say.

And if it is criminally selfish for the manufacturer to enjoy a protection denied to the producer of his raw materials, why is it not equally selfish for both of them to enjoy a protection which from the very nature of the case cannot be given to that immense majority of the American people who neither manufacture protected articles nor produce the raw materials of their manufacture? This includes not only a great majority of the farmers, all the mercantile classes, and all the professional and personal-service classes, but at least half the manufacturers of the country. A tariff that would reach to heaven would not protect any of these. They are the customers of the classes that *are* protected. I have shown that they pay increased prices for what they purchase. The government, which ought to bestow its blessings equally on all, compels them to do this. But it does not, and cannot, in turn compel the protected classes to reciprocate the favor. Is not every beneficiary of the tariff in the country, except those manly ones who want to get rid of the system, convicted by its very high-priest, in the solemn presence of the United States Senate, of being "selfish almost to the point of criminality"? Can the jury, under its instructions, reach any other verdict?

And what about that numerous class, the cotton-growers, on whose product there is no pretence of protection, and could not be, because two thirds of their crop is, and always has been, sold in foreign markets? Why, then, should the men who work up their cotton be protected? I should think every fibre of unprotected cotton, as it went through the protected loom, would cry out shame on the "criminal

selfishness" of the manufacturer, and shame on the unmanliness of the planter who would patiently submit to it. I hear that the planters are being seduced into submission by the presence of a few mills in their midst, but I can't believe it. On the contrary, I think many of the cotton manufacturers are finding out that it does n't pay to be "criminally selfish" paupers, and carry on almshouses which they might turn into self-supporting factories, if their other materials and their buildings and machinery were as free of tariff tax as their cotton.

WAGES, HOME MARKET, ETC.

"Oh, but," say the trustees, "we are the men who diversify industry, keep up wages, furnish the farmers a home market, and multiply the national wealth." Is that all? Is there nothing else in sight for the tariff lobby to claim? Surely the trustees are too modest by half. Like Hamlet, they are

"Pigeon-livered and lack gall
To make oppression bitter."

The tariff trusts and the lobby they employ to swarm around the National Capitol and enlighten Congress are the legs and body and head of the Atlas who carries this world. But for them, all our wonderful resources would do us no good. We might as well inherit a desert if Congress, in a petulant mood, should tell the tariff lobby to go about its business, and should levy your taxes and mine according to the money it needs to run the government.

This is what innumerable pamphlets put out by the Iron and Steel Association, and a few large books on "Social Science," earnestly teach. If they are right, then Americans must be the worst business managers the world ever produced. The race got along for nearly six thousand years without protection, and made almost constant progress. The English people have prospered without it for forty

years. But here in America, where we have infinite advantages over every other people that ever existed, where we have the highest civilization working on the newest and richest soil, where we have more oil, more good cotton lands, twice more coal, and twice more iron, *than all the rest of the world together*, and more good wheat lands, corn lands, pasture lands, copper ore, and a dozen other good things, than any other one people of equal numbers; and where we have abundance of navigable lakes and rivers, thousands of miles of sea-coast, and the cheapest railroad beds in the world,—here, we are told, the people, if left to their own business judgment, would not only make no progress, but actually go backward. It is asserted that in spite of all our free institutions we should be as badly off as the serfs and subjects of the Old World. The reader who accepts such prophecy is advised to lay this leaflet down at once. For he must insist that Americans, as business men, are nothing else but shocking idiots; and these words are addressed to reasonable men, and to men who give the American people credit for as good business sense as characterized the Arabians, the Phœnicians, the Greeks, the Carthaginians, and the Romans, who survived and prospered in an atmosphere of commercial freedom two thousand and three thousand years ago.

With all these advantages and our feeblest and most infantile industries protected against foreign competition by a frigid zone on the north, a torrid zone on the south, and a wide ocean on each side, to say that the final discharge of the tariff lobby, or even the demolition of every custom-house, would reduce our condition to that of crowded Europe, is a proposition which it seems to me ought to come from a mad-house.

There is not a nation on earth which comes so far short of the wages, the diffused riches, and the manufacturing capacity offered by its natural resources and location, as these same heaven-blessed but monopoly-cursed United States.

Now I might fill a large volume with statistics to show that we do *not* owe our high wages, or any of the other good things of this life, to the tariff lobby, but I have condensed a volume of statistics into one very little table which Professor Perry, of Williams College, has done me the honor to put into the last edition of his "Political Economy," which, by the way, is a standard text-book on that subject in American schools and colleges.

By way of preface to this table, which answers every claim of the tariff trustees, let me explain a little. Every protectionist orator and pamphleteer tells you that this country has tried free trade, and that it always worked disastrously. Particularly he calls your attention to the bad results of the low-tariff period just before the war. He says all the prosperity of the country has been since then. I concluded to investigate that matter thoroughly. I used only official documents, except Poor's Railroad Manual, which is the only recognized authority on that subject. I found the rate per cent. of increase from 1850 to 1860, under the low tariff, and the average rate for each of the two ten-year periods since then:

LINES OF PROGRESS.	Increase per centum under low tariff, from 1850 to 1860.	Average increase per centum under high tariff, for each ten years, 1860 to 1870, and 1870 to 1880.
Population	35.5	26.2
Wealth	126.6	61.0
Foreign commerce, aggregate	131.0	45.6
Foreign commerce, per capita	70.3	15.2
Miles of railroad, aggregate	240.0	69.0
Miles of railroad, per capita	150.0	34.0
Capital in manufactures	90.0	66.0
Wages in manufactures, aggregate	60.3	58.2
Wages in manufactures, per hand	17.3	9.4
Products of manufactures	85.0	69.6
Value of farms	103.0	23.6
Value of farm tools and machinery	62.0	27.7
Value of live stock on farms	100.0	17.3

One very important industry had to be left out of the above table. Before the war, our shipping was second only to agriculture in the sisterhood of our industries. Three fourths of our foreign trade was carried in our own ships, and even this occupied but half of them, the other half being scattered over the whole world, bearing our glorious ensign of liberty everywhere and carrying a trade that was wholly foreign. That industry must be left out of the table, because the last two decades show no increase at all, but a most startling and shameful decline. The old excuse was Confederate piracy. But my old neighbor, Iowa's first Republican Governor and second Republican Senator, James W. Grimes, always a persistent foe to protection, when he was Chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, replied to this excuse :

Confederate piracy did not destroy our merchant marine. The privateers who have sunk the second commercial navy of the world sit around me in this Senate. The means they have used may be found in the protective policy, which deserves to be called a "war measure," since it has wrought in our shipping such destruction as no enemy has ever inflicted, but the worst enemy would desire.

Last year, 1887, less than 14 per cent. of our foreign trade was carried in American vessels.

FREE-TRADE ENGLAND.

So much for the low and high tariff periods in our own country. When your protectionist friend says it is n't fair thus to compare percentages, because the natural tendency always is for the *ratio* of growth to slow down as the country gets older, show him how it is in the United Kingdom. Thus:

PERIOD.	Rate per cent. of increase of population.
1851 to 1861	5.6
1861 to 1871	8.8
1871 to 1881	10.8

Nothing shows so plainly a country's prosperity as its gain of population, compared with other periods in its own history. The protectionists say it would be too good a thing to expect, even with the tariff lobby backing the Almighty in His care for us, that we should gain by as large a percentage from 1870 to 1880 as from 1850 to 1860. Yet the United Kingdom, with freer trade than we ever had, made nearly twice the percentage of gain in the last of the three decades that it did in the first. And it is already so crowded that it has 289 inhabitants to the square mile, while we have 14. A great many statistics might be given to corroborate these, but I have room for only the following. I will compare England and Wales with some of the American States, in the last decade, showing population to the square mile at the beginning of the decade and rate per cent. of growth in ten years :

	Inhabitants to square mile, 1870.	Rate per cent. of increase, 1870 to 1880.
Connecticut.....	128.5	15.8
Delaware.....	74.8	17.2
Indiana.....	55.1	17.7
Maine.....	21.7	3.5
New Hampshire.....	38.5	9.0
New York.....	106.9	15.9
Ohio.....	78.5	19.8
Vermont.....	36.4	0.5
England and Wales.....	390.0	14.4

What a decrepit old country England must be, to be sure, to support from three to nineteen times the density of population that any of these highly protected States has, and still increase it by nearly as great a percentage as any of them, and greater than three of them! And yet, say the protectionists, percentage comparisons are unfair to old and thickly settled countries. What a wonderful thing free trade must be, and what a humbug protection! And Senator Frye, of Maine, a State with one nineteenth of the

density, and one fourth the ratio of growth of England, got up in the Senate the other day and told us of the terrible decline of England under free trade.

MENDICITY AND MENDACITY.

But that is nothing. In this world mendacity is apt to be associated with mendicity. Beggars are not all liars, perhaps. But when a fellow-citizen tells you that it is your taxes that keep his shop running, or that he will have to go into liquidation the moment you are given the freeman's natural right to buy where you can buy cheapest, and then goes to work to prove that you are more interested than he is in preventing any such catastrophe, listen to his argument but look out for his facts.

THE FARMER'S MARKET.

Let us take, for instance, the "facts" manufactured for the farmer's consumption. He is told that whatever home market he has he owes to the tariff, and that as a result of the tariff he sells at home what his fathers had to ship across the ocean. As if Pennsylvania or Massachusetts was a home market for the Kansas farmer! But even if it were, the Kansas farmer is more dependent on the foreign market than ever, as I shall proceed to show. Our government, ever since it was organized, has kept a record of the amount of wheat, corn, cotton, and provisions exported to foreign markets. If the tariff trustees are really keeping their promise to furnish us a home market for these products, the government reports ought to show a steady decline of exports and a steady rise of prices. Now let us see what they do show. Our lobby tariff was adopted soon after 1860. Here is a comparison of all the corn and wheat (unground) exported prior to that time, a period of seventy-one years, with the two whole decades since, and the last year:

PERIOD.	Corn, bushels.	Wheat, bushels.
1789 to 1860—71 years.....	149,905,645	80,771,520
1860 to 1870—10 years.....	100,611,081	220,115,995
1870 to 1880—10 years.....	536,434,697	667,435,801
1887 — 1 year	40,307,252	101,971,949

We have exported more corn in the last four years, more wheat and flour * in the last six years, and more unground wheat in the last year than we did from the adoption of the Constitution in 1789 up to the adoption of our present system of taxation in 1861 and 1862. We have exported more pounds of bacon and hams in the last fifteen months than our fathers did from the settlement at Jamestown in 1607 to the bombardment of Fort Sumter in 1861. If that is not a startling increase in our dependence on foreign markets for these farm products, I need enlightenment. Watch the tariff mendicant right here, and see if he does n't turn round now and claim that it is the *foreign* market, and not, as he said a minute ago, the *home* market, that his blessed system of one-sided taxation has built up. When he has made that claim, ask him if he desires also to claim the credit for the following very apparent decline of export prices, as returned by the government :

PERIOD.	Corn.	Wheat.
1850 to 1860—10 years.....	72.8 cents	\$1.36
1860 to 1870—10 years.....	81.6 cents	1.34
1870 to 1880—10 years.....	59.9 cents	1.24
1887 — 1 year	47.9 cents	.89

A decline of one third in the price of both wheat and corn from the average of the ten years before the tariff, to

* Up to the war, 85 per cent. of our wheat export was in the manufactured state—flour. In 1887 only 36 per cent. of it went abroad in that form. Our millers, who are certainly manufacturers, thus missed the job of grinding 78,000,000 bushels of wheat. Quite an item, is it not? And the millers are taxed on their lumber, machinery, mill-stones, and bolting cloths. Half a dozen manufactures are injured where one is helped, if indeed any are helped, in a broad national sense, by the tariff.

the average of last year. How will the farmers like this when they find it out?

And how do American prices of these products compare with foreign prices to-day? If the tariff has "built up" a home market for the farmer, as it has by force of law "built up" a home market for the protected classes, corn, and wheat ought to be higher in America than in England; as I have shown by market quotations that protected iron and steel are higher. Let us try the market quotations on corn and wheat for February 14, 1888:

	Corn.	Wheat.
Chicago46 $\frac{3}{4}$.75 $\frac{3}{4}$
Liverpool65	.97 $\frac{1}{2}$

Liverpool is 25 per cent. higher on wheat and 40 on corn. And this after our people have paid an average of at least \$500,000,000 a year for twenty years for a home market, whose sole purpose could only be to make corn and wheat worth as much in Chicago as in Liverpool.

The above are Chicago prices. The prices the farmers actually get are much less—say from 40 or 50 to 75 or 80 per cent. of Liverpool quotations, according to the location and the bulkiness of the product. Take it all over the regions where the exported surplus is raised, including cotton and all, it is quite within the bounds of reason to say that Liverpool is at least 50 per cent. higher than the original American market where the farmer sells.

THE LABORER'S HIRE.

That settles the labor question. Cotton, breadstuffs, and provisions are the farmer's wages—not his day-wages, but his piece-wages. They are all cheaper here than in England. Work by the piece is therefore cheaper here than in England, for half the workers. Such being the case, if their work is higher by the day, the fact must be attributed to something besides the tariff.

Yes, and most of the other half of the people work cheaper by the piece than they do in England. Especially is

this true in manufactures. Our manufacturers as a whole class have as great advantages over any other country as the farmers have. I have already called attention to these advantages. The result is that the American manufacturers get their work done for less labor expense than those of any country in the world. Here is a little table worked out by our consul at Tunstall, Mr. J. Schoenhof, showing the daily wages per yard of cotton-mill operatives in three countries :

	Daily Wages.	Wages per 100 Yards.
In Switzerland, and we may include		
Germany	\$.44 to \$.49	\$.60
In England.....	.65	.55
In America.....	.80 to 1.12	.40

So the pauper labor of Europe is not so cheap to the man who buys it and sells its products as American labor is. Mr. J. B. Sargent, of New Haven, the most extensive hardware manufacturer in America, has told me over and over again that the same is true in his business, and, as he believes, in the great majority of American manufactures. This is one method of proof that it is not the workingman who gets the benefit of the tariff. He would be a pauper if he did, but he does n't. The tariff pauper is the mill-owner. He owns the goods when they are made. He sells them. He pockets the proceeds. He imports laborers, free of duty. He joins a trust, closes his mill half the year, gets a dividend for lying idle and "limiting production," and turns his hands into the street to lie idle without a dividend and without wages.

Wages are lower in the protected than in the unprotected industries, and the workingmen are more generally foreigners and treated worse. Many of them are to all intents and purposes bought by the ship-load, like slaves, in Europe. Of the 340,854 persons engaged in strikes last year, 112,317, or about one third, were in Pennsylvania, the most highly protected of all the States. There were half as many strikers in Pennsylvania as in all the rest of the country together.

In 1880 the trustees placarded every workshop in the country with a comparison of wages in thirteen occupations between different European countries and New York City and Chicago. This was not a fair comparison, because the United States census of manufactures shows that wages are 24 per cent. higher in New York City than in the country as a whole. Without making any allowance for this, and averaging the whole thirteen occupations, we have on the trustees' own authority :

Germany—per week.....	\$ 3.46
England.....	7.69
New York.....	12.38
England higher than Germany, 111 per cent.	
New York higher than England, 61 per cent.	

Nearly double the relative difference between England and Germany, as between New York and England, though Germany protects and England admits German goods free of duty. Our census of 1880 shows :

WAGES IN WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES.

Ohio—yearly.....	\$196
Connecticut.....	335
Connecticut higher than Ohio, 70 per cent.	

WAGES IN COTTON MANUFACTURES.

North Carolina—yearly.....	\$135
New Jersey.....	255
New Jersey higher than North Carolina, 88 per cent.	

A greater relative difference in both cases than even a red-hot protectionist campaign card claimed between New York City and England. If the latter difference is caused by the tariff, what, pray, has created the others? While the trustees were at it they ought to have done a smoother job of wage-raising—or deception.

THE SURPLUS.

We have n't chatted much about the surplus in the national treasury. We are after bigger game—the surplus in the treasuries of the tariff trusts. This is the surplus that is

mortgaging the farms and railroads of the West and South and prematurely breaking the backs and spirits of their people. If there *is* no such surplus, if the protected interests are losing money, as the trustees claim, then the tariff is a nuisance even to them. I believe it is to four out of five of the men who think they are benefited by it. But I have n't room to go into that now. Either the protected interests tax us, or our government taxes foreigners who do not enjoy its protection. Senator Edmunds says in *Harper's Magazine* that our "greatest government on earth" is supported by the toil of foreign paupers. He says they pay the tariff taxes. In that case put back the tax which the protectionists took off tea and coffee, and make the heathen Gentiles help the Christian Gentiles to support the national government of God's chosen people. If they knew what sweet, unselfish saints we are they would be glad of the chance. But don't tax poor Ireland on 97 per cent. of her exports to us, while 78 per cent. of what the "heathen Chinese" sends us are admitted free, and a third of our entire imports are not taxed. Don't, while we have a surplus in the treasury, and Ireland is engaged in such a desperate struggle for liberty, force her to contribute \$3,000,000 a year to that surplus. If you do, don't hug every Irishman you meet and tell him, in that sweet Hibernian accent of yours, that your soul dearly loves him, and longs to see his ould sod dhelivered from England's tyranny. Don't, meantime, hire agents to invite him to America and missionaries to invite Chinamen to heaven.

" Oh, what a tangled web we weave,
When first we practise to deceive ! "

FIGHTING ENGLAND.

Here ended the original "Tariff Chats," the plates of which were destroyed by fire on the last day of April, 1888. Resetting in a new form gives me room to continue

the subject, which I cannot do better than by quoting Capt. Geo. W. Bell's "Issue of '88":

"The arch-enemy to our industrial progress," according to the protectionists, is free-trade England, yet this protective policy has placed us, commercially, at the mercy of these fell destroyers. We are dependent upon this "enemy to our industrial progress" for a market for over half of our entire exports, for almost our entire trade with other countries, for ships and sailors to carry our products and ourselves abroad, and to bring back the things that our political hucksters don't keep in stock. They take our goods abroad, sell them, pay our bills with the world, and bring back our receipts. We have nothing to do but stay at home and dig. The English ship, with English officers and English seamen, takes our wheat three thousand miles to Liverpool, where we sell it to Englishmen as our only customers. Then the same English dealers send English goods, in the English ship, back across the ocean past our doors, on, thousands of miles, and exchange with Mexico, Central or South America, and return again to our ports with the things which we should get direct, through our own ships, seamen, and merchants, saving this vast extra transportation and the profits of these complicated enterprises to our own people.

Our brilliant campaign against England, by means of a tariff, reminds me of the man who had no gun to shoot the squirrel with, but thought he could worry it to death by climbing the trees as it leaped from one to another. We buy our tea, coffee, sugar, etc., with English instead of New England manufactures. And yet the Irish are urged to vote for protection because they hate England, and the New Englanders because they are selfishly interested. New England did reap the first harvest of protection, and get rich out of it in the war decade; that is when and how she got a mortgage on the rest of us. But to change the simile, the cream is off now, and the milk is going to be awfully blue for New England unless the tariff is modified. The stockholders and mortgagees may live there, but the enterprises and the "employment for labor" will soon sadly betray the need of foreign markets, and many of them do to-day.

The fact is that there is no entire section, no entire State,

few if any entire counties, whose whole population is interested in having a high tariff. Take Pennsylvania, the insatiable tariff gourmand of all the sisterhood of commonwealths. Of her total manufactured product of \$744,818,445 in 1880, nearly one half, namely, \$324,342,935 worth, was produced in Philadelphia, a goodly city enough, but away off in the corner of the State, to which it bears no closer commercial relations than does the city of New York, if as close. There are 67 counties in the State. Four fifths of the manufacturing was done in seven of them—that is, *eight* tenths of the manufacturing was done in *one* tenth of the counties of this tariff-worshipping State.

I am convinced that almost nobody profits by the tariff except a narrow clique of millionaires who have got rich by this polite form of begging, and everybody else is plundered for their benefit. And will be, how much longer?

FREE WHISKEY.

But all this is nothing in the estimation of our protectionist friends, compared with the grievous burden of the whiskey tax. Unless that tax is repealed, American liberty will soon be nothing but a bright dream of the past. Such is the awful warning of the protectionists, who are the first political faction on record to adopt as their guiding principle the doctrine first announced by Adam Smith's countryman, Robert Burns, that

“Whiskey an' freedom gang thegither.”

WESTERN FARM MORTGAGES.

Summary of Reports to the "Farmer's Review," of Chicago.

OHIO—Forty-five counties report an average of 23 per cent. of farms under mortgages; 16 counties report farm mortgages on the increase, and 24 counties that they are decreasing.

INDIANA—Thirty-seven counties report 26 per cent. of farms mortgaged; 18 counties report mortgages increasing and 14 decreasing.

ILLINOIS—Seventy-five counties report 27 per cent. of farms mortgaged; 37 counties on the increase and 33 on the decrease.

IOWA—Sixty-nine counties report an average of 44 per cent. of farms mortgaged; 14 counties report mortgages on the increase and 10 on the decrease.

NEBRASKA—Thirty counties an average of 51 per cent. of farms mortgaged; 12 report farm mortgages on the increase and 17 on the decrease.

WISCONSIN—Twenty-five counties report 32 per cent. mortgaged; 8 report mortgages increasing and 17 decreasing.

DAKOTA—Twenty-seven counties report 50 per cent. of farms mortgaged; 15 report them on the increase and 12 on the decrease.

MICHIGAN—Twenty-six counties report an average of 50 per cent. of farms mortgaged; 11 report mortgages on the increase and 9 on the decrease.

KENTUCKY—Eighteen counties report an average of 23 per cent. of farms mortgaged; 8 report farm mortgages on the increase and 10 on the decrease.

PERSONAL OPINIONS.

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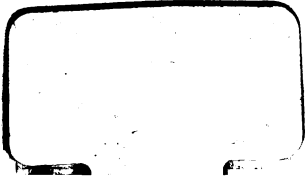
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18

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